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ABSTRACT

This study surveyed the classroom teacher as an agent of political socialization. Subjects were 1,057 prospective teachers from five heterogeneous colleges and universities in the upper north central region of the U.S. Questionnaire data revealed that, in general, subjects felt politically competent and efficacious, had a limited knowledge of the political system, were not sensitive to various party appeals, and did not feel the need to involve themselves in political issues. The majority stated their party identification as "independent." Approximately 90% felt a strong obligation to participate in passive political activities such as voting and letter-writing. The total picture suggested a person who had passive, obedient orientation, showed little discrimination among political stimuli, and perceived the political system as benevolent. This relatively powerless orientation makes the teacher an ineffectual agent of political socialization. (Author/BP)

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MANIPULATING POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION:

THE MOST POWERFUL(LESS) AGENT-

PROSPECTIVE CLASSROOM TEACHERS*

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

Introduction

> "The public school is the greatest and most effective of all Americanization agencies. This is the one place where all children in a community or district, regardless of nationality, religion, politics, or social status, meet and work together in a cooperative and harmonious spirit...The children work and play together, they catch the school spirit, they live the democratic life. American heroes become their own, American history wins their loyalty, the Stars and Stripes, always before their eyes in the school room, receives their daily salute." (Dahl, 1961. pp. 316-317)

Fourteen years later, three acknowledged major researchers in political socialization state that the school, as an agent of political socialization, has, at best, minimal influence on the students found in its classrooms. Further, they indicate that:

> "It is obvious that the fears of those investing teachers with too much influence are unwarranted. Much as the investigation of course exposure revealed, the analysis of teacher exposure shows relative few consequences flowing from the social studies classroom." (Jennings and Niemi, 1974. pp. 226-227)

Thus, it seems that even in the most "political classroom", the school and teacher have relatively little real or potential influence on the student(s).

If the previous research on the school had tended in the direction of the above findings, the results would be dismaying, but expected in some ways. However, the research in this area, is contradictory. In fact, there is no definitive statement on the school. Research (Hess and Torney, 1968; Dawson and Prewitt, 1968; Tolley, 1971; Patrick, 1967) has pointed out, in a less rigorous way, that the school and teacher have a varying degree of influence on the students politicization. This influence should not be construded to be all positive as others (Weiser and Haye, 1966; Remmers, 1963; and Merelman, 1971) have pointed to the process as one where anti-democratic attitudes are developed. Perhaps, the literature is a reflection of the confusion that seems

to exist within the educational system. This confusion appears to be the result from the difficulty in choosing procedures to implement goals. In other words, they know what they want to achieve, in an ideal sense, but they don't know how to do it. Briefly, let us look at education and its relationship to political socialization.

Educational Impact on Political Orientation

The impact of education upon the political values of politicization (response to political stimulus) of students in the United States has long been a subject of discussion and debate. The educational system has partial responsibility for the development of the cognitive structure that will enable the individual to become an effective citizen. Acceptable citizenship training in the school has never been codified. Instead, restrictions in terms of types of political learning have been placed upon the educational system. These restrictions are purposely vague and constantly undergoing change as our society undergoes change in its culture and organization.

The most visible product of antecedent political learning process, individual political behavior, is an area where we find the existence of idealized boundaries imposed on the educational system and a considerable amount of mistrust exhibited by parents and community members toward the school. The educational system is required to develop ideal traits associated without democratic system of government. These usually emphasize passive involvement in the political process such as voting, letter writing, etc., and generally the "good citizen" role. Any instructional material which purports to have more than one view is to be presented in all aspects with equal time and quality of presentation for each opinion. The alternatives that are presented are usually approved by the general public which means

that all sides of an issue are usually never presented because of the restraints placed on the educational system.

This approved method is a naive one at best. The teacher in the presentation of material can attempt to be "value free" but, in reality, he is giving out political cues which are perceived and internalized by the students in the classroom. Adherence to the democratic creed, the "good citizen" role, and political trust are the attributes that are typically transmitted by the teacher to their students. Therefore, the teacher is not apolitical. The teacher in the classroom becomes an important agent in the development of the students' political values and level of politicization within the school system. (Jaros and Cannon, 1969)

One might ask, "What shapes the political values and politicization of the teacher?" For our purposes, the process that influences the teacher appear to be of three types: selective recruitment, value modification, and induction to compliance to immediate imperatives. (Jaros, 1969) The first aspect, selective recruitment, assumes that individuals from a certain segment(s) of society are selected, trained and placed in the school system. The middle class is usually specified because many individuals hold the belief that the school is an agent for the promotion of middle class values and goals. Therefore, the "College of Education" is identified as the agency that in a manifest or latent manner acts as a "gatekeeper" and perpetuates the middle class value system with the American schools.

The second aspect, value modification, is one of our concerns in this report. What, if any, value modifications take place within four years of college? Specifically, what is the impact of professional education training upon the prospective teacher? Generally, a college education has been reported to produce: (1) no appreciable change in political values;

(2) a liberalizing of political attitudes; (3) more conservative political or economic attitudes. (Christenson and Capretta, 1968) The evidence leaves one with many choices but no clear consensus on any particular outcome.

The third aspect, induction to compliance with immediate imperatives, concerns primarily the classroom teacher's responsiveness to directives by school administrators. The administrators response appears to be an influential force upon the teacher as the result of the value modification in professional education programs and perceived community influence.

Thus, the literature suggests three broad factors, selective recruitment, value modification, and induction to compliance with immediate imperatives which are related in varying aspects to the political behavior of teachers. However, only one aspect, value modification, reflects the resocialization process. That is, a change induced by a program over a short period of time. The other aspects focus on gradual, complementary change that "normally" occur over a rather lengthy period of time. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the selective recruitment and related political attributes of prospective teachers. The emphasis will be on the development of a political profile of prospective teachers, as related to selective recruitment factors. In addition, an attempt will be made to identify potential change oriented factors in the professional education programs.

The Problem

The politicization process of prospective teachers and classroom teachers has been relatively untouched by researchers interested in political socialization. Previously, we have stated that the teacher seems to play

a vital part in the political socialization that goes on within the elementary and secondary school years. However, there is some doubt in the field of political socialization as to the influence of the teacher-school, in comparison to the family, as an agent of political socialization. Leaving this point aside, our focus is the teacher within the school system.

The identification of factors that operate to recruit, retain, and sustain freshman to seniors in professional education appear to be somewhat problematic. The difficulty arises not because research has not uncovered certain significant variables to allow one to profile the prospective teacher, but the relationship between the selective recruitment factors and political socialization variables has not been established. Be that as it may, we will use some rather standard political variables and general background variables which have strong explanatory power in sociology.

In terms of the background factors, the most salient are sex, social class, religion, and size of original community. (Davis, 1965; Povalko, 1970; Guba, 1958)

Although, there is basic disagreement as to the importance of each of these variables as a single explanatory factor, when taken together they usually have strong explanatory potential. In this particular study, the decision was made to use the above variables to profile the student background. We do recognize that individuals with certain social background maybe "cooled" out of professional education programs.

The choice of political variables is somewhat more difficult. As such, a broad spectrum of variables were utilized to profile the prospective teachers political beliefs and activities. The political variables are subjective and political competence, citizen duty, party sensitivity and differences, issue involvement, political participation, efficacy, cynicism, knowledge, and interest. The variables are utilized in the standard fashion

as found in most political socialization literature.

In summary, the following questions represent the major concerns of this paper:

1. What is the political orientation of the prospective teachers in the six professional education programs?
2. How politically competent, efficacious, and cynical are the prospective teachers?
3. What do they know about the state and federal system of government?
4. Does exposure to social sciences courses bring about higher levels of political awareness?

Method

The research setting is five colleges in the upper Midwest section of the United States. Each school had an established program of teacher education which had been active for a number of years. The sample is judgmental. The six programs closely adhered to the teaching certificate requirements of North Dakota and Minnesota. (One school had two separate programs.) It would be quite difficult, if not impossible, to find a sample that would represent "American colleges and universities" and as such, the generalizations are limited in their scope. In addition, the background and contexual variables vary from campus to campus leading us to expect differences in freshman and graduates. However, it should be noted that graduating seniors are surprisingly similar in attitude and value dimensions according to previous research. (Guba,Jackson, Bedwell, 1963) Thus, the assumtion is being made that differences will be encountered, but education graduates will be similar on political values and politicization.

The five schools ranged in size from 300 students and 40 faculty members to 8,500 and 475 respectively. All five of the institutions were within a 250 mile radius. The schools were co-educational, and the tuition fees, room and board, were very similar. The colleges are financially supported by various agencies - state, American Lutheran, United Presbyterian, and Catholic Churches. Only one institution had graduate level study leading to Ph.D. or Ed.D. degree.

The colleges were located in cities which were similar in size; in fact, four were extremely close in size. The cities could be classified as predominantly agri-business. The population of the state (1971) was about 68 percent rural-farm and 32 percent urban.

The Study Population

All freshmen and seniors registered in professional education courses and designating themselves as education majors were enumerated for purposes of this study. Students were defined as persons who were registered during the academic year and who were classified as full time. The sample size was 1057.

Data Collection

The data for this study was obtained by means of a questionnaire given to prospective teachers in each program. Beginning and advanced senior professional education courses were visited during the fall and spring semester of 1971-72 and questionnaires were administered during the class period. The composition of beginning education courses was not all freshmen. Freshmen made up the majority but sophomores and seniors were also present. In addition, the questionnaire was administered to senior student teachers when they came back from workshops, within a class which met frequently during the semester, or it was

mailed out to them using a list provided by each program.

The questionnaire utilized structured questions with a few open ended questions. It was constructed in a manner that would enable the respondent to answer the more theoretical questions during the first part of the questionnaire and then move into factual questions. A few additional self-perception items were included near the end of the questionnaire.

The measures utilized to collect the data are standardized scales found in the publication by Robinson et al (1968). The scales were slightly modified for administration to college students. The following scales were extracted form the above source: political efficacy, subjective political competence, sense of citizen duty, political cynicism, party sensitivity, issue involvement, and sense of civic competence. The political participation scale consisted of five items asking the respondent to acknowledge in a national campaign, attendance at political events, wearing a campaign button, and discussing politics with others. The assessment of the respondents political knowledge was carried out by asking the respondent to answer items related to formal factual knowledge about political figures, national government, and current political acitivities. The items utilized seem to correspond with the type of material taught in a high school government course and "common political knowledge" that most Americans would know. A single item tapped the degree of political interest. Individuals were asked to identify their level of activity in response to the quesion "some people seem to think about what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested".

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The analysis presented in this chapter is based on data collected from five Midwestern schools and one special professional education program. Consequently, the analysis constitutes a comparative study in that the schools are diverse in terms of size, nature of support and type of secular or religious affiliation. This provides the advantage of a more rigorous examination of the hypotheses, essentially representing tests in six distinctive populations. It does, however, render the presentations of findings cumbersome.

The dependent variables, politicization and political values, further encumbers the presentation of findings; while these concepts are represented as single or unified socialization phenomena, they contain, for purposes of this study, ten dimensions. There is no imperative coordination of the ten dimensions as is evident by the general lack of or low correlations between the various dimensions. Thus, while the processes involving ten dimensions are referred to as politicization and political values, each variable is statistically examined independently rather than being subsumed in indices. The net result of this additional proliferation of tests is that each test involved sixty computations or sixty separate tests for each hypothesis.

In order to be parsimonious in presenting the findings, the discussion is based on commonalities or consistencies in the findings and a verbal description of the models as they appear to operate. The tables are largely confined to the appendixes because of their complexities and length.

The main concern within this section is the presentation of tests of the hypothesis and an examination of those variables that may elaborate

and further explain the initial bivariate relationships.

Parental Occupation and Education: A test of the selective recruitment hypothesis

The family of orientation (the one we are born into) is viewed as one of the primary agents of socialization that enstills basic expectations and values in most Americans. The family is usually thought of as being part of a social class level and therefore, socializes its offspring according to certain social class values, goals, and expectations. It is within this social class frame work that youth, in a decision-making situation, choose the teaching profession as a vocation because of its congruence with their familial-social class values and expectations. Thus, the selective recruitment hypothesis is postulated. Adolescents, from a middle class setting, perceive and identify familar values and expectations in teaching and choose professional education courses and programs during their college experience. College does not become a change agent, but instead reinforces the middle class values developed in the family of orientation.

The degree of selective recruitment was estimated by identifying the parental occupation and educational levels. These two indicators are commonly used to establish an individual's social class. However, establishing the social class level and relating it to political beliefs for the prospective teachers is somewhat problematic, in that, social mobility in either direction may characterize a number of students and influence political beliefs. Social mobility could confound the relationship between social class and political beliefs. As a check, an item ascertaining the students subjective class identification was included. The disparity between the two techniques (objective-parental occupation and educational level and subjective) is slight. Therefore, the relationship

between the social class background and political beliefs appears to be established. Social class should allow us to make some predications as to the political attitudes and beliefs of prospective teachers.

//Table one in here//

As one might predict, the modal occupation of prospective teachers' fathers is farming with mangerial, professional following in a descending order. Operatives and service workers rank a weak fourth and fifth. Farming is a difficult occupation to classify in terms of social class. However, within this particular region, one could safely state that most farmers would fall in the middle class in terms of income. The education component does not corespond with middle class levels and could be explained by the cultural values of the area which do not stress education. Thus, the best "fit" for the farming occupation would appear to be in the middle class.

//Table two in here//

The father's education level is typically either completion of high school or the eighth grade. A small percentage (less than 16 percent) have a college degree. There are some obvious variations between programs which could be explained by the differences between private and public support of colleges.

//Table three in here//

Clerical, professional and service occupations characterize the working mothers of prospective teachers. The first two occupations account for, at the minimum, fifty percent and a maximum of seventy-two percent. The variation among the five programs is quite restricted. There is a noticeable shift in the education background between fathers and mothers. The modal category is high school graduation for approximately forty percent of the mothers. In terms of college attendance,

whether it be for one year through a post graduate degree, the mothers have a higher rate of participation than do fathers of prospective teachers. The above mentioned differences would appear to indicate that the mothers have been involved in more extensive formal education and were more oriented toward upward social mobility for their children and their own career development.

//Table four in here//

Generally, the parental occupation and education would appear to indicate that the prospective teachers are recruited from middle class backgrounds. The fact that seventy five percent of the students are female would seem to reflect the career orientation associated with the middle class as a central value. The prestige associated with farm ownership and operation is closely related to the prestige of the public school teacher. The choice of female offspring to teach seems very pausable from a "common sense" perspective. If this is the case, one should be able to correlate political attitudes and middle class beliefs. This should become apparent in the prospective teachers' responses to the items in the questionnaire. One would expect their political attitudes to correlate with the following beliefs:

> "...believe in themselves and in the American way of life, and they are devoted to their careers. ...they stress activity, accomplishment, practical results; they stress individualistic achievement within the framework of group cooperation and collective responsibility." (Kahl, 1961)

Now, let us turn to the political profile of the prospective teachers.

Prospective Teachers Profile

The students in the six programs were characterized by the utilization of a number of demographic and political variables. The students are predominantly female, 18-21 years old, single, from rural farm and small town residences. Thus, we have a typical prospective teacher population.

//Table five in here//

The prospective teachers appear to be divided in their degree of cosmopolitaness. (Nelson and Tallman, 1969) One type of prospective teacher appears to have a sense of involvement and identification with the larger social world outside of his community. The other segment seems to have an intermediate orientation, perhaps focussing in on the Midwest and state level. In contrast, the level of political interest of the prospective teachers is at the national level of government. This is typical level for the majority of middle class Americans. In a related area, we find that a sizable segment (42 percent to 52 percent) of the prospective teachers exhibit a medium level of political interest. The rest of the prospective teachers are divided equally between the low and high levels of political interest. In conclusion, approximately one half of the prospective teachers have a moderate degree of political interest which id focussed on the national level of government in the United States. Also, prospective teachers appear to have a sense of involvement and identification with the larger social world that surrounds them. However, these two areas, local-cosmopolitaness, and level of political interest, are unrelated to the number of social science courses taken by prospective teachers. This event has concerned social scientists in this decade.

The profile of the prospective teacher and parental occupation-education level provide a sufficient amount of evidence to conclude that the selective recruitment is occuring. The high degree of correspondence between the descriptive profile of the classroom and prospective teacher, found in the sociology of education literature, provides additional evidence for the above conclusions. With this in mind, let us turn to a discussion of the political attitudes and activities of prospective teachers.

//Table six-eight in here//

Prospective Teachers' Levels of Politicization: A Comparison Between High School Seniors and Prospective Teachers

In terms of the enumerated population of prospective teachers, the level of politicization is at best a moderate level. In fact, the data provides a picture of the prospective teacher that is quite similar to the level of political development of a high school senior as specified by Jennings and Niemi. (1968) A comparison between the present results and Jennings-Niemi's findings is as follows: They feel politically competent, politically efficacious, interested and have a fair amount of knowledge about formal politics. In an almost identical sense, they are not sensitive to the various parties appeals, nor do they identify any differences between the various political parties. In addition, they do not reflect a felt need to involve themselves in the issues of the past and present. The party preferences of the prospective teachers fall predominantly within the independent classification with only 27 percent identifying either party as a salient political identity. It is quite interesting to note that the self-identified political position of fifty-five percent of the prospective teachers is liberal, while the conservative position is accepted by thirty-four percent of the prospective teachers. A more definitive statement can be made by examining the freshmen and senior prospective teachers in this survey and comparing these with the findings of the high school seniors in Jennings and Niemi's study.

//Table nine-ten in here//

A comparison of the mean values and variance of each index reveals a negligible amount of change between the freshmen and senior prospective teachers. This may indicate that change is not occurring, or that if it is occurring, it is reinforcing the political values and politicization

of the students in the program. Another alternative that may explain the results is the self-selection process which may have selectively recruited students with certain levels of politicization and "cooled-out" students that do not take on the political orientation listed in Table 12.

//Table eleven in here//

An indication of possible change can be drawn from a comparison of party preferences for seniors and freshmen and similarity across the programs at each level. Examining Table 11, one becomes quite aware of the striking similarity between levels (freshman-senior) and across programs. Although there are differences, there appears to be support for the self selection hypothesis. Obviously, party preference is only one indicator of political orientation, but political scientists have noted the power of this indicator in the explanation and prediction of political behavior.

Political Orientation of the Prospective Teachers

The acceptance of one's civic obligation to participation in the political process is unequivocally accepted by the prospective teachers in all programs represented in this study. Very few prospective teachers did not reflect the attitude, at a high degree, that they ought to participate in the political process regardless of whether their perceptions of this activity are seen as effective or not.

//Table twelve in here//

However, the level of political participation of the prospective teachers does not correspond with the firm commitment of their normative view of political participation. The results reveal the largest segment falling in a medium level of participation with the rest split between the low and high range.

The type of political activities engaged in require a minimal amount of effort from the respondents and were restricted to activities that a prevoting individual would have been involved in as typical political behavior. This pattern of political participation does vary among the six programs, but the variation is slight at best in four programs. One program has significantly fewer individuals in the high category.

Issue involvement and party preference appear to shed some light on the low levels of political participation. The items utilized in the political participation scale are a combination of active and passive activities, i.e., wearing a button vis a vis starting a discussion on a national issue. It is assumed, implicitly, that individuals have developed a party preference and identification. Identification with a political party is associated with higher levels of participation as found in previous political research. If we examine the party preferences of prospective teachers, we find that the largest segment identifies themselves as "independent". The literature points out that independents have a lower level of participation than either Republicans or Democrats. This would appear to partially explain the low levels of participation. Issue involvement, a variable related to political participation, provides additional evidence. This variable is an indicator of issue awareness and is associated with a more active posture toward the political system. The degree of issue involvement for prospective teachers is either low or medium. The percentage in the high category is very small. Therefore, the data appears to support a passive type of political participation. This is very similar to the findings of Weisser and Hayes (1966) who report that classroom and prospective teachers regard obedience and respect for authority as a highly desirable outcome of education. The resulting student attachments to government should be passive and unquestioning if we accept

the above outcome of education.

In conclusion, the resulting pattern from the four variables is one where prospective teachers have a political orientation emphasizing an obligation to participate in the political process. This obligation appears to be associated with a very passive type of participation and attachment to the political system. They participate as an independent at a low level of involvement in issues and actual political activities.

Political Competence, Efficaciousness, Cynicism

Generally, the prospective teachers in the six programs felt a moderate degree of competence, efficaciousness, and political cynicism. The variation among the six programs was roughly ten percentage points. There was one exception with students in one program varying twenty-five percentage points on the subjective competence scale. Each prospective teacher was presented with three hypothetical problems and asked if he felt he could do anything about the problem. The resulting score indicated his level of subjective competence. The variable was defined in the following manner:

> A belief in the efficacy of one's own political action, consisting of (1) a belief that public officials can be and are influenced by ordinary citizens, (2) some knowledge about how to proceed in making this influence felt, and (3) sufficient self-confidence to try to put this knowledge to work at appropriate times and places.

A score of four or less was rated as low subjective competence and six was considered high. The validity is based on inter-measure correlation which indicates general validity for the scale. With the one exception noted, seventy percent or better of the prospective teachers had a high level of subjective competence. The remaining prospective teachers had moderate level of competence, with none in the lowest level in four programs. The degree of competence decreased when the hypothetical problems became more specific and were placed within the realm of student and local political organizations.

The degree of competence dropped from the highest to a moderate level for prospective teachers in all programs. To be specific, the modal response for at least sixty eight percent of the teachers was within the middle range of political competence. Thus, the movement from general to specific situations provide some insights into the transition from the perception of some general role expectation to the probability of specific behavior under certain political situations for prospective teachers. An attitudinal configuration seems to develop, when one inspects the corresponding variation in the political efficacy-cynicism levels for propective teachers.

//Table thirteen in here//

A sense of political efficacy is a "feeling of playing an important role in telling the government how things should be run". The majority of the prospective teachers have a medium range of political efficacy. These feelings of control are not without a moderate to high degree of distrust of politicians and the political process. The majority (62 to 71 percent) of the prospective teachers had a moderate degree of political cynicism. Less than eighteen percent had a minimal amount of political cynicism.

The resulting attitudinal configuration is that at an abstract level of political activities, the prospective teacher feels competent and efficacious, but when politics become less abstract, the competence decreases and there is an accompanying moderate level of political cynicism.

Political Knowledge and Party Differences

The classroom teacher is expected to be knowledgeable about contemporary public issues and topics. This includes the area of political knowledge. It is within this cognitive domain that we find some striking differences between the expected and actual levels of political knowledge for prospective teachers.

The political knowledge variable was defined for this paper as being one that referred to information about state and local government positions,

current long standing issues in the American society, and political party activities.

//Table fourteen in here//

The table reveals that the majority of the prospective teachers have a level of political knowledge that does not meet the general expectations held for classroom teachers. It would appear that prospective teachers are quite similar to the middle class American voter in their level of political knowledge. It is interesting to note that the college having the greatest percentage of individuals in the highest level was noticeably more politically active and students appeared to be more involved in political activities.

In terms of partisan politics, the prospective teachers have a very limited and almost non-existant source of ideas about the parties. This does correspond with the data on party preference for large segments of the prospective teachers. Most prospective teachers identify as being either Independent or an Independent Democratic or Republican. One could interpret this as taking a position outside usual partisan activities and therefore, perceiving few if any differences between the two major parties.

//Tables fifteen and sixteen in here//

Thus, it appears that the prospective teachers have some knowledge about general political issues and topics, but do not appear to be knowledgeable about partisan politics. They tend to be "independent" and detached from the political system. Active membership may be postponed until they accept the role of classroom teacher.

Social Science Courses: A Politicizing Force

It would appear that there is a positive relationship between the number of social science credits taken by the prospective teacher and his politicization-political values.

In terms of this hypothesis, exposure to social science courses is positively related to levels of political belief and activity. The salience of this relationship does vary from program to program as one would expect. The use of Somer's Asymmetric Statistics points out that a process exists which recruits individuals that are politically aware into the social science courses. Individuals in this category retain or slightly modify their levels of politicization as a result of the course. This would be similar to Jennings "redundancy hypothesis"-- that when one reaches a certain level of politicization, the additional exposure to social science courses does not produce a substantial effect on an individual's politicization. This is the same relationship that was found by Ehman (1969) in his work. There appears to be a small student minority that are influenced by the social science courses. These are the persons who appear to be underexposed and individuals who incorporate the materials into their political actions. Since social science courses (specifically political science, economics, history, and sociology) are usually "recommended or required", we find the great majority of prospective teachers receiving redundant material and the minority being exposed to new materials that may stimulate greater political awareness.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has indirectly assessed the politicization level of classroom teachers by focussing on one crucial period in their lives--the collegiate experience and professional education program. Obviously, there is a degree of disparity between the classroom and prospective teacher in terms of their politicization level. However, the research focussing on these two related statuses reveals a small or miniscule change occurring in the political orientation levels. (Jaros, 1968) Jaros (1968) points out that the teacher in his study, when asked to identify the most influential political agent, reported consistently, that their teacher education faculty and program were the most influential. With some reservations, it appears that the investigation of prospective teachers politicization levels provides one with certain insights into the classroom behavior of teachers and their orientation to political socialization. Therefore, the prospective teachers' orientation should indicate whether they are predisposed to manipulate, unwittingly or not, the political socialization process in the school.

The prospective teacher found in the six programs in this research project, reflected a very passive attachment to the political system and expected the system to be benevolent to its constitutents. The prospective teacher feels a strong obligation to participate and is optimistic about his inputs into the decision making system. His demands will be considered on their merits and changes will be made where appropriate. In an apparent contradiction, his political information level, perceptions of politics, and degree of political interest led one to conclude that an active orientation in the political system is very improbable. The integration

of these variables would seem to depict a consenual view of the political system. The conflict prespective would appear to be non-existent or underdeveloped. If the prospective teacher accepts the consenus view, the manipulation of the political socialization process is unnecessary and unthinkable.

The high levels of efficaciousness and political competence, under certain conditions, could motivate the prospective teacher to become an active participant in the political process. An example of these conditions is provided by Gamson (1966) and Zeigler (1967) . One need only note the increasing activity involving school board-teacher negotiations occurring in most states to appreciate the potential for such behavior on part of the teachers. Until the teachers react to impeding conditions, it would appear that the classroom teacher will retain the present role prescription of a powerless political agent in the political socialization process.

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TABLE I

Parental (Father) Occupation (Census Classification) of Prospective Teachers Enrolled in the Six Programs.

Occupation		*	*			
Professionals	22%	9%	10%	14%	13%	13%
Farmers	24	23	21	28	30	31
Managers	18	22	13	16	11	13
Clerical	5	4	10	5	4	5
Sales Workers	9	7	9	6	7	5
Craftsmen	5	3	2	3	9	9
Operatives	4	6	12	7	4	3
Private Household Workers	0	0	0	2	0	0
Service Workers	4	11	7	7	2	7
Farm Laborers	1	0	0	0	2	0
Laborers	2	0	3	2	0	3

*This represents two separate programs at one ~~one~~ school and applies to subsequent tables.

TABLE 2

Parental (Father) Education Background of Prospective Teachers Enrolled in the Six Programs.

Stage Completed		*	*			
Less Than High School	22%	36%	34%	28%	32%	37%
High School Graduate	29	35	29	34	39	30
Some College	18	16	16	18	11	13
College Graduate	18	9	7	9	5	11
Graduate Degree	10	3	7	7	9	4

TABLE 3

Parental (Mother) Occupation (Census Classification) of Prospective Teachers Enrolled in the Six Programs.

Occupation		*	*			
Professionals	34%	24%	28%	30%	16%	30%
Farmers	2	0	0	0	0	
Managers	3	3	5	6	2	5
Clerical	38	46	39	39	50	20
Sales Workers	9	5	0	4	9	6
Craftsmen	1	0	0	0	2	0
Operatives	0	3	4	2	4	2
Private Household Workers	1	2	0	3	0	2
Service Workers	9	15	21	14	19	36
Farm Laborers	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laborers	2	1	0	0	0	0

TABLE 4

Parental (Mother) Education Background of the Prospective Teachers Enrolled in the Six Programs.

Stage Completed		*	*			
Less Than High School	11	21	13	17	23	32
High School Graduate	34	42	47	37	45	30
Some College	32	20	23	25	29	21
College Graduate	18	12	10	14	4	11
Graduate Degree	3	3	3	2	0	2

TABLE 5

The Composition of the Six Professional Education Programs as Revealed by Sex, Age, Marital Status Distributions and Residence.

SEX						
Female	72	63*	79*	69	54	70
Male	28	37	29	30	45	29
AGE						
18-19	47	20*	1*	34	2	79
20-21	47	35	81	44	55	9
22-23	4	13	11	7	19	4
24-25	1	3	2	3	4	3
26-↑	0	8	2	6	7	4
MARITAL STATUS						
Single	90	78*	75*	75	64	85
Married	8	18	20	22	27	9
Divorced	0	2	0	0	0	1
Other	1	1	4	2	2	3
RESIDENCE SIZE						
Farm-Rural Area	31	34*	31*	28	38	31
Small Town	32	30	27	39	25	26
Medium Size City	18	24	32	26	25	36
Bity City	6	5	0	4	5	2
Suburban	10	3	5	3	7	3

TABLE 6

The Degree of Local-cosmopolitanism of Prospective Teachers in the Five Programs.

Level of Cosmopolitanism		*	*			
Local	14%	15%	19%	21%	16%	15%
Inter Mediate	43	45	51	39	47	58
Cosmopolitan	44	40	30	39	36	26

TABLE 7

The Degree of Political Interest of Prospective Teachers in the Five Programs.

Political Interest		*	*			
Low	37	29	28	22	25	26
Medium	42	46	49	49	43	52
High	21	25	22	27	30	19

TABLE 8

The Level of Political Interest for Prospective Teachers in the Five Programs.

Level of Political Interest		*	*			
None	5	6	7	5	0	7
State-local much more interesting	3	2	2	2	0	4
State-local more interesting	8	6	2	3	5	5
Equal	17	16	19	18	23	22
National Politics more interesting	35	38	23	27	32	24
National Politics much more interesting	32	32	44	41	38	36

Table 9

Political Party Preferences for Freshman and Senior Prospective Teachers

party preference						
strong Democrat	(4.2%)	(4.3)	(2.9)	(5.3)	(7.8)	(8.3)
	4.6	7.2		5.9		17.8
weak Democrat	(4.2)	(13.0)	(10.8)	(6.2)	(17.6)	(8.4)
	3.5	9.5		5.2		7.6
independent Democrat	(12.6)	(16.6)	(21.6)	(22.6)	(2.0)	(33.3)
	12.6	26.2		10.5		14.7
independent	(33.7)	(39.6)	(32.4)	(44.2)	(41.2)	(41.7)
	33.3	35.7		36.6		38.7
independent Republican	(23.1)	(15.8)	(17.7)	(10.8)	(13.7)	(8.2)
	19.5	14.3		18.3		6.9
weak Republican	(12.6)	(6.5)	(6.9)	(4.3)	(9.8)	(0.0)
	14.9	0.0		9.8		3.1
strong Republican	(7.4)	(2.9)	(1.0)	(4.3)	(7.8)	(0.0)
	10.3	2.4		7.2		7.0

(Seniors)
Freshmen

Table 10

Political Position Preferences for Freshman and Senior prospective Teachers

Highly Conservative	(1.0%)	(3.6)	(6.9)	(1.0)	(2.0)	(0)
	2.3	4.8		5.2		3.1
Moderate Conservative	(2.1)	(2.2)	(1.0)	(1.4)	(5.0)	(0)
	4.6	2.4		.7		2.3
No Political Views	(31.6)	(33.8)	(35.3)	(26.4)	(45.1)	(0)
	46.0	23.8		35.4		26.4
Highly Liberal	(4.2)	(5.8)	(5.9)	(6.7)	(2.0)	(0)
	4.6	4.7		4.6		16.3
Moderate Liberal	(53.7)	(44.6)	(48.0)	(48.1)	(43.1)	(75.0)
	37.9	59.5		49.0		47.3
Socialist	(7.4)	(7.2)	(2.9)	(11.1)	(3.9)	(8.4)
	3.5	4.8		3.3		4.7

(Seniors)
Freshman

Table 11

A Comparison of Mean Politicization Scores and Variance for Freshmen and Senior Prospective Teachers

	Freshmen		Seniors	
	means	variance	means	variance
Subjective competence	5.75	(.39)	5.70	(.31)
Political competence	16.82	(1.20)	16.91	(1.68)
Citizen duty	4.51	(.05)	4.50	(.46)
Party sensitivity	1.75	(.40)	1.82	(.44)
Issue involvement	5.98	(1.63)	6.19	(1.53)
Party differences	.40	(.74)	.51	(.96)
Political participation	7.83	(2.20)	7.84	(2.34)
Political efficacy	6.72	(1.23)	6.73	(1.39)
Political cynicism	2.57	(1.76)	2.74	(2.09)
Political knowledge	21.83	(5.55)	23.37	(7.44)
Political interest	2.69	(.88)	2.93	(.82)

TABLE 12

THE DEGREE OF CITIZEN DUTY HELD BY PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS IN ITS SIX PROGRAMS

Low		2.8%		1.1%	2.0%	2.1%
Medium	2.9%	1.7%	2.9%	5.3%	2.0%	4.9%
High	97.1%	95.1%	97.1%	93.6%	96.1%	93.0%

THE DEGREE OF ISSUE INVOLVEMENT HELD BY PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS IN THE SIX PROGRAMS

Low	33.1%	42.5%	32.4%	45.2%	51.0%	43.7%
Medium	51.2%	50.3%	54.9%	46.3%	43.1%	47.2%
High	15.7%	7.2%	12.7%	8.6%	5.9%	9.2%

THE LEVEL OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION FOR PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS IN THE SIX PROGRAMS

Low	22.1%	22.1%	26.5%	17.7%	27.5%	19.7%
Medium	41.9%	40.0%	43.1%	39.3%	54.9%	50.0%
High	36.0%	37.0%	30.4%	42.9%	17.6%	30.3%

TABLE 13

THE LEVELS OF SUBJECTIVE COMPETENCE FOR PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS IN THE SIX PROGRAMS

Low		.6%				2.1%
Medium	22.1%	26.0%	22.5%	29.9%	31.4%	46.5%
High	77.9%	73.5%	77.5%	70.1%	68.6%	51.4%

LEVELS OF POLITICAL COMPETENCE

Low		1.1%	2.0%	.6%	2.0%	.7%
Medium	76.7%	67.4%	69.6%	69.8%	64.7%	65.5%
High	23.3%	31.5%	28.4%	29.6%	33.3%	33.8%

DEGREE OF POLITICAL EFFICACY

Low	2.9%	11.6%	10.8%	4.7%	9.8%	6.3%
Medium	83.1%	77.3%	75.5%	83.9%	78.4%	81.7%
High	5.2%	15.5%	8.8%	11.4%	9.8%	9.9%

DEGREE OF POLITICAL CYNICISM

Low	25.0%	13.8%	15.7%	16.1%	17.6%	13.4%
Medium	62.2%	65.2%	70.6%	68.7%	66.7%	71.8%
High	5.2%	15.5%	8.8%	11.4%	9.8%	9.9%

TABLE 14

THE LEVELS OF POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE HELD BY PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS IN SIX PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Low	3.2	3.7	2.9	1.9	5.4	1.2
Medium	62.3	45.0	50.0	58.7	58.9	63.2
High	34.5	51.3	47.1	39.5	35.7	35.5
Mean	21.89	23.48	23.30	23.87	22.28	22.13
Standard Deviation	5.25	5.67	5.10	5.01	5.32	6.23

Range 4-36

TABLE 15

PARTY PREFERENCE FOR PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS

Strong Democrat	4.7%	4.4	2.9	5.5	7.8	16.9
Weak Democrat	4.1	11.0	10.8	5.8	17.8	7.7
Independent Democrat	12.2	18.8	21.6	17.5	2.0	16.2
Independent	34.9	37.0	32.4	41.0	41.2	38.7
Independent Republican	19.8	18.2	17.6	13.6	13.7	7.7
Weak Republican	14.0	5.5	6.9	6.6	9.8	2.8
Strong Republican	8.7	3.3	1.0	5.5	7.8	6.3

TABLE 16

THE NUMBER OF REPORTED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TEH REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRAT PARTIES BY PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS

None	65.1%	77.9	78.4	75.9	82.4	78.9
One	12.8	6.6	5.9	9.7	3.9	9.9
Two	16.9	13.3	12.7	12.7	11.8	10.6
Three	5.2	2.2	2.9	1.7	2.0	.7